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Sept. 19, 2

THIRTY SEVEN ENNISMORE GARDENS, S. W. 7.
TELEPHONE KENSINGTON 7241.

Dear Lord Hanbury,

I have written this because I'm
frightened that our propaganda in
Germany may misfire. Hope you will
have time to look it over.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Mandak.

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NOTE ON GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ALLIED PROPAGANDA.

BY:- Robert Randall,
37, Ennismore Gardens,
London. S.W.7.

NOTE ON GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY AND ALLIED PROPAGANDA.

1. Propaganda in this war and the last war.
2. The enthusiasm of German youth.
3. Fixed association in German mind between Communism, Democracy and the Versailles Treaty.
4. Conditioned obstinacy of German population of military age.
5. Suggested tone for Allied Propaganda.
6. Unprecedented size of the Great War.
7. Object of the New War.
8. German misunderstanding of Allied methods.
9. Our aims at the Treaty of Versailles.
10. The German attitude towards the Treaty.
11. An Allied offer on the condition of a German withdrawal.
12. Necessity for the German withdrawal.
13. Limits of the Allied offer.
14. Warning if the offer is refused.

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confusion is simple. This German confusion has been partly fostered by Hitler as a means of reviving the spiritual courage of his people. It deprives them of the means of looking to democracy for the betterment of their conditions, and it undermines their confidence in the word and honour of statesmen of foreign democracies.

The process which gave birth to the confusion was as follows. The Germans are a people of an heroic mould, and they refused to endure for long the degrading truth that they had been defeated in war. Rather than endure the truth they disciplined themselves to seek a way out. The indemnities and the restrictions imposed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles left no way out that was satisfying to their impatient pride. Therefore they could not resist falling to a way round that was a mixture of falsehood and truth. The younger generation permitted their energies to be attracted by symbols and wishful thinking instead of recalling daily their condition of defeat. In the young German mind resentment of the Treaty of Versailles and contempt for democracy seemed more hopeful than passive submission to humiliation. Together with hatred of communism this resentment allied with contempt formed part of the original energising magic which gave power to Hitler's rhetoric.

In the conditions submitted to by growing Germans enough evil was to be found in communism, democracy and the Versailles Treaty to colour the German dislike of them with a moral appeal. Thus the Germans learned a habit of squinting, as if they were bastards, at all contemporary significant events. They formed an inelastic and fixed illusion that the Treaty of Versailles was spiteful and revengeful, and that the

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Conditioned
obstinacy
of German
population
of military
age.

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The danger is that maddened by fear of admitting their perplexity the German people will blindly obey their leader, in long resistance to military invasion in a mad war in which the Reich has

no hope for ultimate victory. Therefore, propaganda must be directed at changing the mood of the German people rather than their beliefs. Our propaganda should make them an offer which will assure them that as a result of an early victory of the Allies, German grievances will not be overlooked, though Slav independence will be restored and respected. Such an offer should be conditional upon a withdrawal on their part.

5. Approaches likely to win over to our side young German men and women who have matured into manhood since the Versailles Treaty might be effectively couched in this spirit.

The essence of our propaganda can perhaps best be imagined in the out-spoken and tactful style in which it might have been spoken by an envoy in the pages of Thucydides.

6. "First we would ask you Germans to remember that in all history there has been no precedent for the enormous scale of the Great War. But whereas the magnitude of the conflict in men and arms was obvious, the complexity of the emotional conflicts which instigated the many local and world-wide quarrels of which the war was an expression were not so obvious. Indeed, they were so bewildering as to be altogether beyond immediate understanding. Therefore, it was neither your fault nor our's that everybody was ignorant as to how to deal with such unprecedented difficulties as arose at the Peace.

"We do not to-day put down the responsibility for beginning the last war to the bad spirit of the German people. Nor to-day can the mistakes of the Treaty of Versailles be put down to the deliberate bad spirit of the Allies.

Suggested
tone for
Allied
Propaganda.

Unprecedented
size of the
Great War.

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Object
of the
New War.

7. "The mistakes of Versailles were due to our inability to deal with a complicated situation which neither you nor we had mastered. As an outcome of this new war we are determined to create a polity in which we may safely remedy what has been done wrongly. You, like us, will appreciate that the causes and consequences of mistakes which arose out of the Great War are better known to-day than they were ten or twenty years ago.

German
misunder-
standing
of Allied
methods.

8. "It is our method to learn by mistakes, to see that our friends profit by refusal to repeat them, and eventually to win over even our enemies by the sincerity with which we deal with difficulties they cannot overcome by themselves. This is how we maintain the goodwill and support of our Allies and friends and the many free peoples within our Empire.

"We suggest that before you Germans jeopardise the peace of the world by blaming us for all that is wrong in Europe you consider whether a reasonable period of time should not only have elapsed, but should also have been insisted upon, in order to discover how the provisions in the Treaty of Versailles would work. During this period would it not have been absurd to suppose that we, whatever our sympathies, would ever be upon the side of instant revision? You do not help a proposition to succeed by giving away at once to every criticism brought against it. Criticism must be put to tests even more severe than the established order which it seeks to upset. If instant obedience to criticism were always adhered to by those in power, there would be no order and there would always be chaos.

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"Such was our attitude towards the Treaty of Versailles; but it was not in keeping with your impatience under defeat. It may have seemed to you that we were obdurate in our determination to cling to the status quo of the Treaty. And, it may also have seemed to you that you owed a duty to yourselves to show your discontent with its terms in a form which demonstrated your determination to alter them. Nevertheless that is neither a fair nor proper view of all that ought to be considered.

"The Treaty attempted to set up an international order to the justice of which all nations would in time adhere. On our side we did not expect miracles in a fortnight nor even in a generation. It seemed to us unlikely that great adjustments in the international sphere could be brought about in a short time, and, as will appear from what we have to say, not altogether likely that they could be brought about without another war. Yet notwithstanding these grave doubts we disarmed in the hope that the best might happen quickly.

9. "In the years which followed 1918 we were not alive to the probability that our championship of Slav nationalism would stir intense resentment among the German people into formidable political activity. We believed that the Liberal States which our victory in the Great War set up as an alternative to an extended German Empire would promote a contented and prosperous Europe.

"Evidence has now arisen that on some points we miscalculated with dreadful and unexpected consequences. We underestimated the national enthusiasms and international suspicions that existed beneath the apparent political coherence of Europe under new democratic governments. We supposed that the

Our aims
at the
Treaty of
Versailles.

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peoples of Europe, including you Germans, wished only to be free to develop their parliamentary institutions and to improve the well-being of their citizens by consolidating wealth in trade with one another. The Treaty of Versailles seemed to us to guarantee these conditions. Now we see that this type of activity is not what you Germans want. Your wish is to expand your energies all over the world in the same way that citizens of the great democratic Empires do, and without being rivals to them.

10. "After defeat in the Great War had brought the Hohenzollern dynasty to an end, and when your colonies had been redistributed as mandated areas, we believed that you would be contented to govern yourselves well in new conditions, living on peaceful and friendly terms with your neighbours. We did not realise the extent to which defeat would humiliate your national spirit; nor how rapidly your resentment of humiliation would grow into organised hatred of us. We did not apprehend that you would be irritated by the less martial and more peaceful new states we set up as your neighbours. We did not foresee that you would be constantly comparing their methods with your own efficiency in organisation. We did not foresee that our defeat of you in the war would make you even more anxious than before to prove the superiority of your race, culture and language to those of the Slavs, all of whom use your language and literature as a convenient method of intercourse, with which the world is more familiar than with their own.

"But because you are irritated by the methods of the Slavs in governing themselves is no reason why you should govern them. Because your neighbour is intolerable to you is no reason why you should

The German attitude towards the Treaty.

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assume that you are tolerable to him.

"To our mind one conclusion is clear from the disputes which led to the last war, and the disputes which have led to the present. Even were you, Germans, to succeed in holding the Slavs down for a number of years it is unlikely that your military domination of them or your trading with them will bring you the satisfaction you desire. Therefore, if the adventurous and ambitious spirit of your people is bent upon expansion it is necessary to the peace of the world that you expand elsewhere.

11. "From the speeches of your leaders it is clear that the German people are no longer inspired to begin their expansion on the basis of hostilities with the British and French Empires.

"It should, however, be equally clear to the German people that an international order in which they themselves can be permitted to expand cannot be wisely based upon lies and reckless conquests which disregard ancient cultures and fixed ancestral prejudices.

"Methods of force and deception may have seemed essential to Herr Hitler and the Reich in order to upset the Treaty of Versailles, and thus to set a stage for a new beginning. That stage, however, is now set.

"It is our determination that the present war shall be fought in order to set up a new prospect for international justice. Unless Europe is to repeat monotonous and worthless wars forever lies and military conquests must be condemned as a method of political change. They formulate a condition of terror, safeguarding nothing except villiany.

"This war is not simply a war about German

An Allied offer on the condition of a German withdrawal.

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expansion as the ego-centric leader of the German people implies. On our part it is a war to free the Slavs, and to create conditions in which everyone concerned can investigate how German expansion can be brought about without undue interference with the rights of citizens in other countries.

Necessity
for the
German
withdrawal.

12. "The belief that might is right, and that the German people are superior to all others is an old fantastic fetish of your international culture. Culture, we would have you know, is not the privileged inheritance of any one nation, not even of your own, It is the common heritage of all mankind. What your philosophers say concerning the efficacy of mockery, deception and ruthlessness in our view threatens the progress of civilisation. Therefore, anyone who adopts these precepts as if they were the end of living is an enemy of ours.

"We do not like to see such methods revived to-day in a form which makes them stand out as experiments with human nature meant to be glittering examples to mankind, even though we are more than ready to allow that the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles pressed harder upon you than we expected. Nevertheless we are not surprised at the revival of these old beliefs. For had we not suspected that there lingered among your people an inclination to respond to the brutalities and deceptions that are manifest in the methods of Herr Hitler we should not have made the Treaty of Versailles so severe upon you. You will appreciate that we must take into account that before Herr Hitler and Herr Ribbentrop these wrong precepts have been adopted by German statesmen.

"Notwithstanding our determination to stamp out this inclination in your people, even is another war is necessary, bear in mind, that we tried to find

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ways out of the deadlock that would avert war and give to you the assurance to dispense with these methods, and that in doing so we ran the risk of losing the confidence of our friends.

"You will appreciate that for us to make you a definite offer of expansion while you permit your leaders to startle the world with vain examples of inconsideration, fecklessness and intolerance is impossible. We should not know how to frame a definite offer, since we have now no assurance of the spirit in which you would accept it. In the atmosphere of mistrust you have promoted by believing that you can gain what you wish by regardlessness, lies and clownish mockery it is impossible for us to offer you fresh colonies or to return to you the colonies you had acquired in the years before the Great War.

"It would be a breach of trust to expose neighbouring citizens to our undeveloped colonies to the base beliefs of your statesmen and the calumnies of your propaganda.

"Moreover it would be imprudent of us to encourage your citizens to hope to take a full share in the responsibilities of our Empires and of the world so long as your over-excitability nationalism is likely to instigate them to trickery and sabotage.

13. "For these good reasons we ask you to accept that no offer we can make now to the Reich can go further than assure German citizens that we are prepared to respect their desire to expand. You must trust us to honour this promise, which we make on the condition that you show your goodwill by withdrawing from Slav territories, and by insisting that the base methods by which you have so often encouraged your statesmen to seek dominance are altered.

Limits of
the Allied
offer.

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"It would not now be easy, even though it is not so many years since all the land in the world was discovered, for the democracies to find outlets for the expansion of the German people, were there no serious political objections to their expansion at once. In the last century ethics of conquest and ideas of good imperial government have changed rapidly. Public opinion no longer tolerates indifference to subject races. Thus it will behove the German people not to be impatient while we try to implement our promise, and not to attribute wrong motives to us on account of delays; but to co-operate with us in devising methods that world opinion will approve.

14. "Now that we have made you Germans a fair offer we will end it with a warning. This offer is an interpretation of the best spirit in our people and in your's. If you do not accept it we shall fight the war to a conclusion. We know that world opinion judges that you should be defeated. And we believe that you have no rational ground for assuming that you can win. Therefore, it is unlikely that our people will absolve you from the responsibility of having wantonly brought a long war about. When a modern war is fought desperately to a final conclusion by arms and starvation the causes of war become buried in the hardships of conflict. Anger at the devastation and grief at the dead eclipses even the best intentions of statesmen.

"The mood at a peace conference at the end of a long war is not likely to be merciful. Therefore, we recommend that you trust our word, and deflect your energies into saner channels."

Warning
if the
offer is
refused.

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28th September, 1939.

Many thanks for your interesting paper which I have not until now had time to go into. I am afraid I do not think it would be of practical value for the following reasons:-

- (1) Conditional promises of the type you suggest would only provide a handle to counter propaganda of the "Perfidious Albion" type.
- (2) Are we justified in making any promise of facilities for expansion to a nation which has committed six aggressions in eighty years and which had expounded the doctrine that "might is right" long before the Treaty of Versailles?

Robert Randall, Esq.,
37, Ennismore Gardens,
S.W.7.

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Oct. 4

I thank you for considering my memorandum. I have dwelt over your reply, and I am not in agreement with your first point, and only partly in agreement with your second.

- (1) The "Perfidious Albion" argument is already raised. It carries its maximum weight without there being any reply to it. From this standpoint the error in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches is that they understate our moral case. The need now is to touch rock bottom in order to hearten our own people and undermine the propaganda of the Reich. The "Perfidious Albion" argument can carry no weight as counter-propaganda if we state the whole of our case. My promises are only conditional on good behaviour. Germany has lost this war already. The grave question is how can both sides be wise enough not to fight it.
- (2) The argument against the aggressor can be dropped. It is war propaganda and holds weight only because there is no one astute enough to explode its fallacies in a short speech. I agree that Germany is not to be trusted but a new set of circumstances will have arisen if she recognises that she has ~~not~~ lost this war and is prepared not to fight it.

I write this being fully aware that there are terms that may be put forward that we could not accept.

Yours sincerely,

Rover Randall

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THIRTY SEVEN ENNISMORE GARDENS, S. W. 7.
TELEPHONE KENSINGTON 7241.

5th October, 1939.

Dear Lord Hankey,

In my memorandum I say that the fixed associations which bring about the fear of the German citizens of Herr Hitler can only be broken by greater fear such as news of victories of the Allies. Now that we have established our superiority over the sea and in the air, I believe that information concerning facts relating to it could be used in order to create that fear.

I am preparing a memorandum on this basis which I shall send to you as soon as it is completed - by tomorrow I hope.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Dan Dahl

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Oct. 8. 19

THIRTY SEVEN ENNISMORE GARDENS, S. W. 7.
TELEPHONE KENSINGTON 7241.

Dear Lord Hailey,

The memorandum I promised should
be along to-morrow. I enclose a letter to
Lord Hailey which summarizes much which
I intend to say in it.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Robert Randall.

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37, Ennismore Gardens,
S. W. 7.

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8th October, 1939.

My dear Lord Hailey,

Thank you for your letter. I, too, think that I perform a valuable service by analysing the physiological processes of both sides. Unfortunately it is difficult to obtain publication for my work, and for me to know to what extent it is advisable for me to publish.

Many of the questions you raise are answered in the buff memorandum I sent you last year.

It is not that we ought to prevent the Germans from trying to colonize the Slavs; the Slav peoples are not suited to colonization by the Germans; nor will they bring Germany export trade, except aspirin, alarm clocks and wireless sets! Besides, Germans do not seek the privilege of being distinguished simply as business men.

We make a mistake in forcing the Germans to expand in Europe, and the Germans are mistaken in not being clear-headed enough to approach us with the honest argument for expansion elsewhere.

At the present time tariff adjustments cannot be contemplated.

If the Germans seek expansion of their energies, Poland is more suitable for these many purposes than other states in Europe. I am not convinced that our foreign policy did not invite Poland to disaster, in order to prolong for a while the tendency to restrict consideration of the area for potential German expansion.

I cannot accept your simplification. Either I am wrong about the physiological analysis, or we are all wrong in giving way to the temptation to accept the simplification.

There are several difficulties in the way of increasing the area for German expansion. First, while Germany is our enemy in Europe, we cannot return to her her old colonies in Africa. The military danger would be too great. Moreover, sparse or tropical lands are not of use to Germany. Hitler is mistaken in asking that we should return these colonies. His demand, like your letter, is a simplification from which discussion can begin, and a change of attitude be brought about.

There are two ways of making friendship with Germany. Both can be followed if we have the realism and courage. One is to make Germany a prudent broadened offer; the other is to seek a common enemy, by fear and hatred of whom we shall unite with the German people.

The prudent offer cannot be made except on the condition that there is a common enemy, and it may be that, by adjusting our minds to searching the basis of the prudent offer, we shall discover the common enemy.

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Russia is not the common enemy of Britain France and Germany. The peoples of all three countries are friendly. It is too big a state, with citizens who are too lazy and intelligent to wish to conquer Europe. The peoples of Europe understand as much.

There is much fustian and 'wishful thinking' about the United States. The United States is in the same relationship to Europe as Britain used to be. She does not seek a just sovereignty over Europe in the interests of its peoples, but in order to preserve the balance of power in her own interest. Only men who are obsessed by the successful military prosecution of the War, to the exclusion of all else, can ignore this obvious deduction from the ineffectiveness of President Wilson and from his defeat in the American Elections. The United States of America will not enter this War in order to promote the victory of Britain and France. She will enter when Britain and France are exhausted, in order to prevent the victory of Germany. By her dominant interest she will then take care that there is once again a bad peace.

If we continue upon the basis of the same physiological analysis, we must ask what is the reason of American morality, when it is accompanied by regardlessness for the welfare of Europe. Since the invention of bombing aeroplanes and wireless, America has grown to fear its further invasion by the people of Europe, and it keeps Europe divided in order to prevent the United States being discommoded by an orderly European colonial policy. It seems farfetched, but, nevertheless, I am sure that it is right to say that the present War is to protect the Monroe doctrine, which defends the worthless integrity of the South American states, and their useless citizens.

Whatever the Vatican may think, or Lord Halifax may not have thought, the best field for European and German expansion is South America. The common enemy to bind Europe together is the United States.

The present stalemate expresses the wisdom and kindness of the European people, who are too close to one another to wish to begin starving and mutilating women and children, and desiccating one another's homes. This fear of armaments is wholesome, and so is the stalemate. Obsession with the military aspect of the war is diabolic. The belligerents should be kept apart by fear of one another's arms, while statesmen are trained to think of politics in new terms.

Although my physiological analysis may seem cynical, and my attitude to the United States like sabotage of a friend, I am convinced that the peoples of the world do not wish another Great War. Our peoples and the American peoples are friendly, and the test of this friendship will come when the time arises to fight.

By making America the common enemy, and by seizing upon South America as the most appropriate ground for further European expansion, our way is cleared to begin to trust Germany in relation to Europe and the rest of the world. The acquirement of a part of South America would divert the German energies for the time being from Europe.

*America
will fight
to the
last
Funchman*

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Without our help the Americans would not know how to resist Germany; with our help the German conquest would be as certain as without it. In my own mind a fresh division would be for the good of mankind, far better than a European War.

As regards Africa, until common interest produces a military alliance with Germany, I do not see how we can encourage her ambitions there. The encouragement must be gradual, beginning when the time comes on the lines suggested in my buff memorandum, by including Germans in the colonial services of other European colonial powers, that is to say Holland and Portugal, as well as France, and ourselves.

I am not marking this letter secret

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16, York House,

23

Church Street, W. 8.

6th October, 1939.

My dear Randall,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th instant and its very interesting enclosure. I agree with your interesting and if I may say so, very valuable analysis of the physiological attitude of both sides which led up to the present war, but I find some difficulty in accepting your conclusion. We are to re-assure the Germans by telling them that we have no desire to prevent a reasonable expansion on their part; in return they are to show their good will by withdrawing from Slav territory. But is that enough? We are not to allow them to expand at the expense of the Slavs; at whose expense then are we to allow them to expand? Or does expansion only mean that we will revise our tariff arrangements and get other people to do the same?

personally I regard the problem as much simpler and more obvious than much of what I read elsewhere would seem to suggest. At a certain stage Nazi activity, however nasty it may have been in expression, was a natural and almost legitimate effort to re-establish Germany's place in the World. She had effectively re-established it before she attached Czechoslovakia or Poland. Her action here was simply the desire of a ruling gang to make its own position good and secure its continued hold over the German people. There is no way out of it but to smash this gang and if the German people identifies itself with it, to force their disarmament. I do not believe that any kind of promises of what is called a just peace are any good. There is no such thing as a just peace and there never can be such a thing so long as people seek a solution by force of arms.

yours sincerely,

(Signed) HAILEY

Robert Randall Esq.,
37, Ennismore Gardens,
S.W.7.

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14th October, 1939.

Dear Mr. Randall,

Lord Hankey asked me to thank you for your memorandum upon the Primitive Emotions and Precision in Propaganda, in Relation to the Enemy, and to the United States of America.

Yours truly,

Robert Randall, Esq.,
37, Ennismore Gardens,
S.W.7.

Oct. 16 25

THIRTY SEVEN ENNISMORE GARDENS, S.W. 7.
TELEPHONE KENSINGTON 7241.

Dear Sir,

I began a section which was added to my last memorandum when the second batch was sent out. I hope Lord Hunsley will bear in mind that it was meant to be provocative and suggestive; to draw bluff, and to touch rock-bottom whenever possible.

Yours very truly,

Robert Kan Doll.

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Self-interest of Russia not identical with that of United States.

14. The relationship of Russia to Europe, in principle, is in many important respects like that of the United States to Europe. Like the United States, Russia has land in which the energies of her citizens may expand, so she is without important territorial ambitions. Russia needs to protect certain areas in Asia and Europe from colonisation by other powers, and without there being a Monroe doctrine to define her policy she exercises her rights. Thus Russia safeguards sincere interest against powers which seek to encroach upon them. Russia is irritated by patronising indifference; she dislikes insecure borders; Russia is always ready to strike in order to stop ill-considered enmities and persistent misunderstandings concerning Russian ideas of good government. She is anxious to take advantage of a European war in order to rid herself, as it seems for ever, of insulting and regardless nuisances upon her borders. Nevertheless, Russia is no enemy to the peoples of Europe. Her own peoples go hungry and without luxury. Russia has murdered her aristocracy; and is antagonistic to dependence upon an acquisitive commercial class with, undefined power. In accordance with

* Modern European revolutions have under-estimated the benefits to individual European states of the wealth acquired by allowing free play to acquisitive commercial energies. Many of the high standards of competition and comfort among all classes are dependent upon the mercurial energies and enterprises of an acquisitive class. Without these high standards the democracies would be immeasurably poorer and they would be vitally restricted. Activities of an acquisitive class in normal times are material in a way often overlooked. The exclusiveness of their outlook is a precious security against rashness and improvidence. Their normal behaviour is in itself an advantageous check of so real a value that it is sometimes forgotten that when their habitual methods of prudence become ineffectual or are challenged, or their greed is permitted to run to excess, the meanness of their outlook is mistaken by themselves for wisdom. In the face of the power of large-scale modern armaments business must, side by side with political institutions, modify or change its methods.

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Oct. 18.

Forty Seven ENNISMORE GARDENS, S. W. 7.
TELEPHONE KENSINGTON 7241.

Dear Lord Hankey,

Herewith is the
promised memorandum.
It is the best my knowledge
of the psychology of war can
contribute at this moment,
and I know you will know
how to relate to the exigencies
of the moment.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Randall.

NOT TO BE SHOWN TO HIS MAJESTY'S ENEMIES.

NOTE UPON THE PRIMITIVE EMOTIONS AND
PRECISION IN PROPOGANDA, IN RELATION TO
THE ENEMY, AND TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY:- Robert Randall,
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NOTE UPON THE PRIMITIVE EMOTIONS AND
PRECISION IN PROPOGANDA, IN RELATION TO
THE ENEMY, AND TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1. Strategy of Propoganda.
2. Neurotic and sensible German fears.
3. Propoganda of encirclement: its relation to the evolution of a European mind.
4. Blandness and Hypocrisy.
5. Importance of precise news concerning Allied military superiority.
6. Need for Allies to interpret in just and practical terms the impossible German demands for colonies.
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13. Attack on the Monroe Doctrine not an attack on the United States.
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9th. October, 1939.

This memorandum pre-supposes no relaxation of military effort, by sea, land, air, economic pressure or propaganda.

The British and French have established their superiority in the air and over the sea. The land stalemate continues, and the allied victory is not yet obvious. London remains unbombed; but is partly evacuated. Trade is reduced and credit is depleted by the last war.

Obstinate German fixations can now be broken by an unboastful and resolute broadcast by propaganda of the true military position in every detail, accompanied by a prudent unequivocal offer of vigorous appeasement to the German people.

This war is concerned with creating and cementing a unified mind for Europe out of which will arise an improved European polity. A war of devastation will not be a strategic success. Military success is not the objective of war; arms are but means by which the strategic aims of changing policy are implemented. Propaganda is of cardinal importance in order to achieve European polity out of the war. The tactical aim of propaganda should be to limit the field of warfare for the time being by dexterous use of knowledge relating to Allied superiority in arms and by proposals of conciliation so that a great war may be avoided or the Germans attacked, when frightened and without assurance that they are in the right.

Strategy
of
Propaganda.

1. If this war is to be won quickly without extending its dimensions wantonly, it will be won by cementing a dual effort in propaganda, by appealing to a superior morality among German men and women of military age, and striking grimmer terror in German

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hearts that the Fuhrer strikes.

No propoganda that is not thorough has magic. Great Britain should be as strong in propoganda as on the sea and in the air. Searching and relentless care should be taken to arm propoganda with facts, and entrench it upon a basis of truth. Upright British propoganda will not be made stronger by reticence, which like the subtlety of Ulysses, is directed to the right end.

2. The tactical use of propoganda is to defeat the Germans by fighting with arms and persuasion. Fear cannot be instigated by half measures. In order to produce fear among a people so inured to fears as the Germans, propoganda should be dramatic and insidious.

During two decades and vaguely throughout a century, the Germans, like the Spartans, have been taught that the supreme test of manhood is a glowing spiritual awareness obtained from brute force and physical endurance. Compulsory military organisation is to them an illuminating mystical experience, since they have assimilated brute force as a way to material gain and spiritual excitement.

The common sense of German citizens will be aroused by substituting sensible fears for neurotic fears^x. Propoganda should effect relentless pressure against present ambitions of the German leaders.

^x The vulgar democratic mistrust of fear is too simple. Fear need not be either harmful or unreasonable. Fear of God is regarded as a practical help in daily life. For the time being propoganda should seize upon fears of armaments, and impound them for the good of man. It is prudent that the stupid should fear. If fools were self-confident, murder alone would control. Physical trembling and insidious mental fear aid in formulating manners: The former in wartime, the latter during peace. With armaments as they are now, with invention so extra-ordinary, and knowledge so specious and chaotic, fear must be rife. To pretend it is not so, "is to 'dock' one eye, and go to sea with the other."

Sensible
and
neurotic
German
fears.

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Impact through eye and ear with news of a stronger martial force, will gnaw into the moral fibre and greed now at the root of German courage, substituting a more prudent courage.

Propaganda of encirclement: its relation to the evolution of a European mind.

3. In order that our propaganda may be effective in must begin by studying the nature of the propaganda of the enemy. Only precise news, accompanied by sincere and clearly stated intentions will be so vital and thorough as to have the cementing effect of magic. Vague threats, in which points of evidence are concealed, and unthoughtout suggestions for a United States of Europe will fail. During normal times reliance on the United States of America to exercise sovereignty in Europe is feckless. Experience has proved it "wishful thinking". Propaganda of this type will increase the vulnerability of the Allies to counter-propaganda from the Germans.

Propaganda directed at appealing to the moral convictions of elderly Germans is not enough.

The blockade and inflation made the unwitting policy of British commercial and imperial encirclement stark obvious to German citizens in cruel terms of ruin and starvation. Bodily hunger and deprivation of home life compelled the sinister force of encirclement into day-light. The Germans are convinced of the existence of encirclement, whereas it still remains elusively unreal to British citizens. To pretend that there is no encirclement to a German who has been starved or deprived of his home seems monstrous to him.

It is a treacherous abuse of the power of propaganda. Men and women who are old in Germany served in the Great War, enduring the blockade and inflation. Their sons and daughters fight in order to avenge their parents; so that they may avert the same

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fate falling on their own children. The mentality of encirclement is the wailing of Laocoon under the burden of the serpents.

From the physiological standpoint it is wiser to kill a people outright or persuade them by propoganda than permit them to live in cold comfort remembering ruin and starvation. How it comes that the Germans feel bitterly about encirclement must suggest the tone of part of British propoganda.

The essence of their grieving can be learned from British Parliamentary history wherein no great reform has ever been carried except in the face of selfish opposition. Very often utterly selfish opposition has been supported by impeccable moral rectitude. As an outcome of free conflicts the liberties of British classes, and the freedom of British citizens seem clear-cut and open.

Nevertheless at no times between England and Germany has diplomacy or the machinery of the League of Nations operated as Parliament operates between one class and another in England. In Europe there is as yet no evolved system of sovereignty through guidance of which unsettled quarrels can be buffeted and shaken into satisfactory and forgiving settlement. The present war is concerned with the evolution of a European sovereignty so as to provide this outlet and authority. Towards such an end propoganda is a more powerful and less bloody weapon than armaments.

Apart from military superiority the test of British sincerity is the spirit in which Great Britain declares that she intends to wield international sovereignty when the war ends. A strategical aim of propoganda therefore is to prepare minds in Europe for the evolution in a practical form of a European sovereignty, which will prevent German encirclement

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arising again ~~either by means of force or~~
~~persuasion~~. This cannot be accomplished without
speaking the truth to the people of Europe.

Blandness
and
Hypocrisy.

4. Attempts to appeal to German men and women
by undiluted moral stricture of their leaders, horror
at aggression, touching concern for weak nations, contempt
for lies, and by effecting to build up an undefined
European order, will be ridiculed as enticement. Germans
will mistake talk about honour for greed disguised in
a cloak. They perceive British honour as a salacious
method of keeping Germans down, as aristocratic blandness,
missionary slarney-blarney, and cockney business acumen.

After the blockade and inflation no German will
be frightened by bogies. The confidence we have in
our moral rectitude we can keep to ourselves.

The British attitude is not free from hypocrisy
in German eyes. To them it looks cunning that we should
make a promise to the Poles, and dishonest that we should
not be able to implement it. Their propoganda teaches
them to ask why we go to war with Germany for invading
Poland, but not with Russia for following a bad example.
Such an incongruity cannot be whitewashed. It calls to
be explained in terms of our military policy, and of the
confusion of our domestic opinion.

The German record in regard to Russia is not as
clear as ours. Nevertheless it seems bland^x to the
Germans that the English should term Germany an aggressor,
and not Russia. German citizens are told that Great

* Hypocrisy and blandness are a workable daily economy.
Allowances should be made for affectations; many successes
would be impossible without concentration which seems like
blandness. Yet in war hypocrisy and blandness are danger-
ous as are lies and aggression in peace. They will crumble
before combative propoganda and bombing aeroplanes.

Britain acquired her colonies by subduing natives with gun powder, and by concurrent and successive wars on sea, and land with Spain, Portugal, Holland, parts of China and Germany. What the Germans are compelled to remember, our citizens are invited to forget. Neither side recognises responsibility in pandering to and encouraging the selfish attitude of the other. The responsibility of exercising sovereignty by means of propoganda in order to avoid calamity is big.

Precise news
concerning
military
superiority

5. In obtaining precise news a new principal should be followed. "Hush up" is fantastic when civilisation is threatened. Military information possesses more value as news than as secrets kept from the enemy, the peoples of Britain and France, and neutral citizens. In order to instigate fear amongst all classes of the enemy indisputable news concerning every aspect of military propoganda should be spread abroad in all languages; with power of conviction in the languages of neutral countries, as well as in German, by wireless, newspapers, films, by gossip at garden parties, and in prisons. Military secrets should be turned into weapons of propoganda at once. Refusals to impart information should be justified by well-approved reasons. Lies and exaggerations will be refuted; they may be left to the enemy. The enemy is not discomforted by a reticence resented by our own people.

Many military secrets are "my-eye and Betty Martin." There are not many secrets in trade, over sea, upon the land and in the air. Up to a point the enemy knows what we know: we know what the enemy knows. Every available item of information concerning the state of the German armaments should be turned over without reservation at once to propogandists for ventilation and announcement.

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The comparative civilian and military territorial vulnerabilities of Britain, France and Germany from air raids should be precisely depicted without mercy. To conceal from citizens of the Reich evidence of British superiority and German inferiority cuts off the nose to spite the face; Now propoganda is organised as a fighting service, it is crazy. If Hitler's secret arm is known or not known details of what we know should be broadcast. Nothing is gained by reticence. Pigeon holes should be searched for facts to turn into propoganda; the principal sensations of which should not be limited to regular ministerial orations in Parliament. No ingenuity should be spared. Propoganda should be accepted as a fighting service which prosecutes war sensibly and justly.

For War Office, Admiralty, Air Ministry or the Ministry of Economic Warfare to keep foolish and pompous watch over secrets that would be more valuable made public, should be treason; Officers who commit the offence, should be liable to the same type of prosecution as offenders under the Official Secrets act.

The Ministry of Economic Warfare, like the other fighting services, should be approached for effective detailed information. By means of pamphlets, articles, talks, dialogues, maps, diagrams, photographs etc. the cruel method and stark aims of blockade should be industriously depicted. Psychological ill-effects of passive endurance of prolonged hardships arising from vital pressure with no outlet for adequate retort should be depicted in unexaggerated drama. The enfeebling and sickly outcomes of starvation upon women, children and the aged estimated with horrifying accuracy. Nervous handicaps and physical ailments suffered in manhood by starved children, whose minds and bodies did not grow

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during blockade, portrayed and delineated with scientific precision. Affectations of heart and stomach are a main cause of wearisome fatigue and surrender. Blockade means shortage of food and of simple chemical needs. German folly in depending upon inadequate supplies of food stuffs and raw materials should be explained in minute detail. Dangers and discomforts of soldiers in wet and stuffy emplacements, of airmen in faulty machines should be concluded from Government information and described. British propaganda should demonstrate honestly that a war without bombing is not war on the platform, or in the drawing-room. It is war against nursery and kitchen, turning wedding beds to sick beds. It is more humane to the Germans that they should be frightened by the prospect of blockade than that they should endure blockade.

If this cannot be done; there is no immediate reply to the German propaganda on the lines of fear; and the Minister should explain the truth to the people through Parliament.

Propaganda takes the utmost pains to stimulate the percolation of news into Germany through neutral channels, newspapers, wireless talks, personal contacts etc.

To neutrals the tragic futility of fighting a cruel war based upon victory after devastation and a prolonged military stalemate should be stressed. An absolute confidence in victory should be juxtaposed with a perfect assessment of the claims of the enemy and an appreciation of their relation to the polity of Europe and of the world. Close co-operation should be claimed in order to stem the tide of destruction and misery that will follow upon the unloading of the tragedy of war upon the peoples of Europe.

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Many states in Europe may fear to go to war; but no person or state can be neutral when the issue is for and against God; propaganda ^{should remember} that is true, in spite of divergences of opinion in regard to terms in which it is now prudent to mention works of man dedicated to God.

During the gradual re-adjustment of German citizens out of neurotic fears into sensible fears, by new fears and straightforward speaking, proposals stating the degree of freedom to be permitted to the German nation, and the extent of the expansion the democracies are prepared to allow to German citizens, will be interpreted as more honourable than equivocal statements of moral rectitude. Propaganda that is squeamish about facts will not counter German irony. Magnanimous, real proposals if supported by precise news of military strength may impress German citizens as more favourable to German good living, than starvation and precarious livelihood under leadership world opinion deems blackguardly.

6. It is a concern of propaganda to assist sovereignty by appealing in a right way to the aspirations and the evolution of fears of European peoples. If the Allies seek to win the friendship of German citizens, propaganda can demonstrate that the warm hearted friendship of the British and French peoples, even though the British and French Governments may seem to the Germans silent, and cautious or hypocritical and bland, is of more profit and worth to Germany than an unthoughtout greed and spiritual debasement. The Germans do not need their old colonies back for the sake of raw materials. Their old colonies, with few exceptions, are sparse tropical lands containing no raw materials worth a great war. So long as Britain and France

Need for
Allies
interpret
German demand
for colonies

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hate Germany, it is beyond price to Germany to acquire possession of these military outposts and units of propaganda.

Among every class in Germany and in Britain just desires of German citizens to establish rights for their expansion over the world in proportion to the energy and wealth of Germany are confused with the anxiety of their leaders, to obtain military outposts in order to implement the urgent desires of German citizens for expansion, as these come into disguised fierce conflict with the same urgent desires to expand energies in British and French citizens. Confinement of this conflict instigates hatred^x between British, French and German citizens.

7. In the buff memorandum at the time of Munich it was suggested to the Allies if they wish to retain military sovereignty by their armed forces, they should interpret at once the confused German demands, not in relation to their own interests, but in relation to the polity of Europe, and the world. The basis of Hitler's claim is hateful nonsense. The Germans clamour for colonies in order that their citizens may not be deprived of rights to expand and move freely in proportion to their wealth and the size of Germany.

A gesture of international sovereignty in relation to colonies could be implemented now in three circumstances, in which it might be prudent to call a gradual christian truce.

^x Hatred and fear are not the same emotion. "In the House of Commons," wrote Mr. Balfour, "you cannot sit opposite a man day in and day out and oppose him without growing to love him." The warm conflicts of emotional energy which instigates hatred are akin to love. During the battle between the propagandas Germans will sum up the quality of sincere determination in British hearts and minds, by British courage and restraint in employing new methods of warfare and by British ability to interpret German demands in relation to the welfare of Europe and the world.

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11.

(a). Herr Hitler should be asked to withdraw the ill-considered demand for the return of the German colonies on account of raw materials. He should be requested to accept from Britain and France a promise to associate themselves with Germany, in order to implement the desire of German citizens to expand their energies in relation to Europe and the abundance of the earth.

(b). In Britain and France there should be strong Governments representative of the stout hearts of the peoples, prepared to use force in order to overcome vested interests against German expansion among mistaken classes of their own peoples.

(c). The attitude of Europe towards the United States of America should be revised and defined.

8. If the deadlock in regard to colonies is to be overcome by effort of mind, and not by a war of devastation, exertion must be stupendous. A long strain of attack and defence falls upon propaganda. So long as return to daily habits is prevented by warlike activities thought concerning these three conditions, if propaganda takes them up, will become more reasonable without bloodshed. Changes without war must be brought about by a rigorous combination of fear and straight forward thought during warlike diversion. If leading statesmen on both sides are alike determined to restrain, and to find solutions, warlike diversion may proceed without bloodshed and devastation.

9. Opposition among the Allies to a consultative revision with Germany of the colonial question is stifling. In Great Britain it is subtle and enormous. The Prime Minister, because he leads the Conservative Party, is tongue-tied. When it was thought that the Colonial question might be debated in the House of

Propaganda during semblance of war may overcome deadlock.

Prejudice against discussion of German colonial problem in Great Britain.

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Commons, there was no discussion; no member knew how to dare to be outspoken. Since Germany had no spokesman to represent them, they were unable to carry their reform in the British Parliament. In regard to colonies, mistrust of a more powerful Germany is so ingrained in the democracies, that prejudices stop consideration. Such prejudices will not be overcome by vested interests; they will be overcome by an authoritative sovereign interpretation of the wills of the peoples of Europe. Propaganda should not ignore its responsibility to the peoples whose warm-hearted inarticulate sentiments call for just interpretation. The British, French and German peoples have to make up their minds what is meant when in identical terms Herr Hitler says of Germany and Mr. Chamberlain of Great Britain, "We have no quarrel with the people", meaning the people of the enemy.

10. There can be no question of returning the old German colonies; they are not what Germany wants, and Britain and France cannot give them back without breaking trust with their inhabitants, or without military risk to themselves. But if Britain and France with Germany establish a common enemy, military risk is reduced. In time it may be possible to co-operate along various lines with Germany in Africa; but those times are not likely if there is not a vivid realisation of a common enemy. Christianity depends as much upon fear of Satan as upon obedience to God; upon dread of temptation as upon courage in aspirations. The German proposals in regard to colonies, as now framed, are a hazard to the security of Europe, and they are not adjusted to the welfare of the world.

11. Mr. Lloyd George is right to say that the European problem cannot be solved without the United

United States
and the
balance of
Power in Europe.

Inadequacy
of German
proposal for
colonial
expansion

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States of America. But in so far as he has revealed his mind he is wrong in regard to his conclusions concerning how the United States help gets in the way of Europe, and concerning what it can effect in Europe. High policy of the United States in Europe should be considered from the same real standpoint in which this memorandum considers British and German policy.

The United States is not interested in wielding just sovereignty over Europe. The hope that it may be, is wishful thinking. The American attitude towards Europe is unequivocally summed up by the ineffectualness of President Wilson at Versailles, and by his defeat later in the Presidential Election. In Europe today the role of the United States protected by the Atlantic Ocean is the same as was the role of Britain when protected by the English Channel, before propoganda and war in the air. America is interested in maintaining the balance of power in Europe. The United States will not enter a European war in order to help Great Britain win it. When Great Britain is exhausted^{*} she will enter the war in order to prevent Germany from winning it.

Today in Europe and in relation to America, Great

* The Allies now possess a tactical advantage which, with an immediate truce in the West, may pass to Germany. If the Germans at the outset of this war had invaded Holland or Belgium, as they invaded Belgium before, in order to surprise the Allies and widen the Western Front, in September, opinion in the United States would not have been so aggrieved as to regard the invasion as a pretext for war. Now such an invasion would allow Germany the opportunity of ultimate military domination in Europe, and when the Allies seemed exhausted by taxation, devastation and the devastation of their cities, the United States of America would intervene without sacrifice in order to prevent a successful repetition of the German attack in 1918. The present allied advantage may be expressed in another form. The sincere concern of Britain and France in relation to their self-interest is to "keep"; the sincere concern of Germany in relation to self-interest is to "get". The Germans will choose their own time when next they come "getting" in a Western direction. They will not begin by going to the East. They dare not estrange the United States of America, in case they extend the number of their enemies

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14.

Great Britain is a European State like France, Germany and Italy, except that she possesses more colonies. In Europe the United States of America wields the balance of power, not in the interest of Great Britain or any particular European state, but in her own interest.

The interest of the United States in Europe is strong; it is concerned less with Europe than with the status quo of the colonial problem from the widest standpoint. The Monroe Doctrine is a selfish doctrine. Much of South America is backward and ill-governed. It fits the interest of the United States in order to preserve the Monroe Doctrine to confine conflicts concerning European expansion to internal contests about European colonies throughout the world, determinedly excluding the Americas. Accordingly the United States is responsible unwittingly without deliberate calculation for the hatred now stirring amongst European peoples, which might have been overcome by an effective sovereign League of Nations, or by a substitute therefor. The stalemate in the present war may mean that it does not suit Europe to be so confined

In dealing with China, Britain recognises that the detachment of American friendship is not to her benefit. In dealing with Europe Britain hopes that American friendship is more sincere. That hopefulness is a part of British wishful thinking. The United States, like other Great Powers, is sincere in her own interest. The United States do not help in Europe in order to establish the sovereignty of a united Europe; they interfere in order to stop by stifling the rights of the United States in South America being challenged by progressive European energies.

now, and after four years' war repeat the eventual defeat of 1918. It would be folly to surrender temporary advantages of this magnitude without weighing the alternatives.

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Strong magnanimous proposals towards the rest of Europe cannot be framed by Great Britain unless the mind of the Government is adjusted towards a more real conception of the self-interest of the high policy of the United States. It may seem far-fetched, but it is no exaggeration to say that this war, if it does not evolve a United States of Europe, is a war to preserve the Monroe Doctrine and protect South America from new European colonisation. The United States keeps Europe divided in order that it may benefit by confining the colonial problem. It is not Britain which fights to the last Frenchman, but the United States who fight to the last Englishman.

British injustice to the Germans cannot be explained by propoganda without the downrightness of Agamemnon and the patient wisdom of Nestor. Propoganda can discover and lay open truth in the form of manly Homeric debate.

12. There are many advantages accruing to the expedient of making a common enemy of the United States of America, by denouncing the Monroe Doctrine. Great Britain will extend her peaceful frontiers beyond the Rhine and the Tiber. London will revive into activity, free from danger. The Mediterranean will be ridded of mischief. Great Britain and France will govern their colonies well, and extend their trade without fear of being upset by threats of bombardment, military stalemates and financial ruin from enemies in Europe. The British Empire will co-operate all over the world with the active propoganda of other European states, including perhaps the Vatican and Russia. Thus trade will be restored, and mistrust be replaced by confidence

Advantages
that will
accrue from
joint
European
policy in
regard to the
United States

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in neighbours who wish to be trusted. If this war is won by breaking the stalemate with Germany through bombs, poison gas and starvation, Great Britain will gain military victory in Europe, but it is unlikely that, as an outcome the Allies will establish even one of these objectives. Moreover, it is certain that internal hatred will remain in a form in which men will tire of preventing Germany from rising again.

A gradual frank and reasoned estimate of European expectations from the United States of the regardlessness of the United States for Europe will arouse a crescendo from all the peoples of Europe. This hatred will not be unhelpful. The common people are too unimaginative to change old habits without venal aid. The hatred instigated by truthful revelation of the unconcern of the United States for the welfare of Europe will cement the propoganda of aspirations and fear outlined earlier. Awareness of a common enemy will unite the peoples of Europe, and love akin to hatred will intermingle in future hope.

Most important of all reasons why Britain and France will fail in their duty to Europe if they do not consider seriously the disadvantages of trying to desert Europe in favour of an alliance with the caprice of the United States is to be found in the awakening aspirations of modern Europe. So long as Great Britain looks to the United States to wield sovereignty in Europe, Britain and France are powerless to wield it themselves. Yet the growing conception of the new Europe is dependant upon their statesmen and citizens exercising in Europe the same just principles which create their colonial empires, and unite their loving peoples in bonds of loyal affection. By British assistance to the League of Nations, Great Britain has encouraged the prospect of European dependance upon the great heart of her people and the strength and wisdom of her statesmanship.

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If Great Britain treacherously deserts Europe, and as a result of ruin and starvation takes the centre of the British Empire elsewhere, into the new stronghold of her rich citizens, she will be exposed to attack from old friends, that by desertion she has turned into united enemies.

It is but four hundred years since the world was discovered to be round. The European citizen began to realise it to be small much more recently. The battle of propaganda to create a Parliament for the world is now begun. Events seem to have moved more slowly because invention has hastened the process of reducing international selfishness. Yet the Parliament of the world will not be created without many conflicts. The first of these great battles is to establish an independent sovereignty for Europe, in the form of an evolved United States of Europe. By the just use of propaganda and by fear of bombs and gas this can be done by a war of diversion.

It is forgotten by many who are rightly anxious for the achievement of a United States of Europe that it took more than love of the United States to bind Hamilton and Jefferson together in glorious efforts of conflicting patriotism. The love of these statesmen for the United States took very diverging forms. Nevertheless, resentment of the misguided interference of Britain bound them together in stupendous labours of mind and body. Europe, like the United States, has grown too wise to be governed by an absentee landlord. In this civil war the rôle of Britain is the rôle of Washington.

13. Superficial patriotism and obsession with the military victory of the Allies will condemn exposure of callousness of the United States in regard to Europe as cynical. An attack upon the Monroe Doctrine, however,

Attack on
Monroe Doctrine
not an attack
on the
United States.

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is long overdue, and American arrogance, like the arrogance of Ajax, is ⁱⁿsufferable. It is as unfitted for power as German aggression. Both are regardless of bloodshed and of the evolution of world polity. Yet the shallowness of the retort of superficiality is better exposed upon kindly and vital grounds. Nothing remains permanent; always one danger is superseded by the next. An attack upon the Monroe Doctrine is not an attack upon the United States; it is a provision of many new opportunities for a less indolent opening of the wealth of South America. Moreover, it does not exclude a more rigorous development of Africa. As soon as France, Britain and Germany, like Jefferson and Hamilton begin to share a common enemy, German military co-operation in Africa becomes feasible. By every move of expansion from Europe an atmosphere of confidence wherein military European powers seek to 'keep' and not to 'get' is brought closer to secure realisation. The United States will not fight in defence of South America. Without British help she could not fight; with British enmity her untried naval and military forces would be sorely embarrassed and her boastfulness exposed. The bonds of affection between English speaking people are too deep to allow a war. The United States will not suffer by a joint intrusion of Europe into her local sovereignty; and a step forward will be taken in the creation of the polity for the world.

14. Not to let the Germans know what we propose to do in relation to their repression or expansion when peace comes is to jeopardise British and French chances of winning the war, without ruining their citizens by taxation, debt, and devastation from bombardment. That more taxation and public debt will lead to a social revolution is accepted by everyone, except by those whose minds are obsessed by

To ignore consequences of the war is suicide.

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the military prosecution of the war, to the exclusion of all other consequences. The criticism that these proposals are impractical and suicidal should be juxtaposed with the impractical and suicidal tendency to ignore the serious import of social revolution and the flight of capital. Constant re-iteration of talk concerning no truck with professional gangsters smacks of obsessional mania with military aims. It suggests an ungenerous reading of history, and an intemperate disregard of sincere modern aims.

This proposal is noble for being dispassionate, real for being based upon truth, likely to be effective because it combines ~~for~~ subtlety^{with just aims}. It suggests no relaxation of military effort and keeps steadily ahead the prospect that a gradual truce may be beyond prudence yet it faces a danger that it is easy to evade: taunted by gibes of unmanliness, in a vain martial gesture of quixotic morality the citizens of the British Empire may commit in mass a like suicide too Cato, so as to obtain a victory that will destroy power.

To hug prestige in shallow funk of losing the privilege of wearing spats leads to a slip-up. Perhaps to a calamity. A cardinal is not a cardinal on account of his hat: nor a king a king on account of his crown. Promises that cannot be implemented are nearer to being sovereign propaganda than promises that cannot be implemented. Shivering morality, which makes promises it cannot implement is not as strong as the possessor of it likes to appear. It deserves to be taunted and mocked. Whether we like war or not, war renders this service.

War a diversion during a period of change.

15. Once an emotional situation has passed out of control of statesmen into expression of hatred in terms of armed conflict, modern armaments whether directed against minds, bodies or institutions, over sea, on land,

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in print, or in the air, are employed best to inspire, frighten, and draw together belligerents so that they bring about change without destruction. Modern war, in spite of its horror, magnitude and glamour is rightly regarded as a mad diversion of sane energy. Compulsion towards mad diversion arises when wisdom and obedience fail, when changes must come about which are too complex to be understood by habits of daily security.

To-day man experiments by primitive trial and error in order that he may obtain control of the unprecedented power of modern armaments. Structure of a new polity in relation to new types of aspirations, fears and obedience is in process. Without the impact of shocks, such as war, or the semblance of war, the character of the European peoples cannot be adapted to changing circumstances. This war is a shock of magnitude; it is a diversion in lieu of changes equivalent in magnitude to the shock. Propoganda has a wider and more saintly mission than implementing military victory in war. If this profound truth is not appreciated, men prepared to devote their whole being to its effective prosecution will not be discovered.

Just and magnanimous proposals of peace are the concrete implacements of propoganda; news of military superiority, the bombardment; a common enemy the vital but vulgar cement, the propoganda of the Reich will not cease to attack *attack or begin to retire until we defend.* with full moral force.

The British Empire is dependent upon power not prestige. Its heart of its people is aping nothing; it is generous and strong. Without access to the heart of the Empire, propoganda will be futile.

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51
END.

21st October, 1939.

Dear Sir,

Lord Hankey asked me to thank you for the addition to your memorandum dealing with the relative positions of Russia and the United States.

Yours truly,

Robert Randall, Esq.,
37, Ennismore Gardens,
S.W.7.

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